

Policing the peace:

Police reform experiences in Kosovo.

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PSO to
CHIEF MINISTER SINDH PAKISTAN**

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Acronyms

CIVPOL	United Nations Civilian Police
EU	European Union
FTO	Field Training Officer
KFOR	Kosovo Force
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
KPC	Kosovo Protection Corps
CPS	Kosovo Police Service
MEPE	Multi-Ethnic Police Element
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NLA	North Liberation Army
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PFTO	Primary Field Training officer
UCPMB	Army for the Liberation of Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac
UN	United Nations
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
VMRO-	Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization
DPMNE	Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity

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Foreword and about author¹

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The opinion, views and recommendations mentioned and outlined in the article are his personal experience and assessments and in no way represent the views and policy of government of Pakistan or any other national or international organizations where he has worked.

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He carries with him International as well as domestic policing experience both supervisory, investigative and security related which makes him an outstanding police officer in the country. He has excelled in the international arena where the experienced and competent police officers from different countries of world were working side by side in achieving peace in war torn Balkans.

He is the only police officer from Pakistan to have been selected by Pennsylvania based "STRATHMORE's Who is Who". The inclusion in the Directory is a unique honor which has been bestowed on Mr. Raza as recognition of his professional performance and achievements. He has been member of International Police Association and member representative of national Association of police organizations, Inc, Washington DC based non profit organization of finest police officers in the globe.

He was assigned to the special Task Force in UN Mission in Kosovo from 2005 through 2007 for a period of 18 months where he performed training of police officers in Kosovo. He was in charge of liaison with KFOR in Kosovo in police matters.

He has been published in professional journals and magazines and has contributed extensively in training of police officers and shared his experiences with his juniors.

I have had personal experience and pleasure of working with Mr. Raza in various positions and have found him to be forthcoming, dedicated, efficient, responsive and responsible police officer with sense of duty and devotion to the public service.

The article will go long way in contributing towards the training and understanding the need and role of police force training in areas of post conflict and nation building efforts which international community has presently undertaken in Afghanistan, Iraq, Liberia, Somalia and several other countries.

Executive summary

POLICE REFORM is an area that is receiving increasing attention from policy-makers, non-governmental organizations, the media and academics. The radical reform of police institutions and the introduction of a new style of policing is often a prerequisite to achieving and maintaining the resolution of conflicts. Such is the magnitude of the task that police reform in post-conflict environments requires considerable levels of international support and involvement. This report examines three cases in South Eastern Europe where there has been substantial international assistance in support of police reform.

With the fast pace of reform, however, there has yet to be a systematic examination of what an international audience can learn from police reform programs in the Balkans. The challenges in the Balkans are similar to those elsewhere, where a police force has to be extensively reformed or reconstructed as part of a wider overhaul of existing institutions mandated by a negotiated peace process. The conclusions of this report are applicable beyond the immediate areas in question. In post-conflict situations, in areas where the police have been directly involved, or are perceived to have taken sides, police reform is often a key step towards sustainable peace. This study discovers what lessons can be learned for future instances when the international community is to be charged with the reconstruction and refurbishment of police forces. It is unlikely that the lessons from the Balkans will represent the final word on the police reform aspects of conflict resolution, but they do offer valuable insights.

When it assumed responsibility for the province in 1999, the United Nations administration in Kosovo (UNMIK) faced a complete policing vacuum, and created two new forces to fill it. An international police force was tasked with primary responsibility for actual policing while an accelerated plan was made for establishing an indigenous police service to take over that responsibility in the long term.

The Case study — Kosovo

The concept of a local Kosovar police service, trained and equipped by international sponsors, has been translated from a commitment on paper into a functioning reality on the streets. That, in and of itself, is an impressive achievement. However, while the police contributed to bringing a semblance of order and stability to the province, the core problem, namely the future status of the territory, remains unaddressed. In such an uncertain climate, any

police force's ability to improve inter-group relations will be strictly limited as the political interests of the different communities remain polarized.

Recommendations

Examination of the cases indicates significant efforts and commendable achievements that should not be downplayed. However, there is much that can be learned from and improved on. The following observations and accompanying recommendations are the result of consultation in the field and comparative analysis, including current best practice and emerging standards. These concluding observations have been split into two groups. Firstly, points on the design and implementation of the police reform program and secondly, points on the role played by the international community and the assistance various organizations and agencies provided in each of the three cases examined.

Program design

1. Classroom and field training Getting the new local police out on the beat performing actual policing tasks has been one of most visible signs of progress in each of the three initiatives in Kosovo, Macedonia and Southern Serbia. Kosovo's expedited training program was emulated in neighboring reform missions; its basic curriculum is to be commended where a quick start for policing is needed. Overall, the main problems have not been with classroom instruction but the flawed field training programs that follow it. The new officer's knowledge and experience gaps are not being sufficiently filled by shadowing, observing and learning from more experienced national or international officers and it is not clear whether all of the mentors assigned have the skills and knowledge required for this role. The field training programs should be thoroughly evaluated, and re-designed if necessary, in order to ensure equality of experience and learning for all cadets.

2. Training of trainers In Kosovo, where a police force was established from scratch, all members started at the same learning point at roughly the same time and so, broadly, have been steeped in equal measure in courses and training. In the larger forces older serving members are given just a few hours of classroom-based training in human rights and democratic policing principles, or are even expected to be instructed by fellow officers who have attended such a course. So far this does not seem sufficient to modify long-held and powerful attitudes: proper assessments must be undertaken to evaluate whether such short bursts of remedial training actually promote a change in attitudes.

3. Integration New recruits find it difficult to integrate fully within existing police structures dominated by a majority ethnic group and gender. There is currently a risk that different officers

within a force are perceived and trusted differently and more attention needs to be paid to strategies to assist the processes of assimilation and incorporation.

4. Effective maintenance of law and order The new ethos and principles of democratic and community policing should not be associated with a softening of attitudes to crime and law enforcement. Any failure to address the serious and deep-rooted crime problems that affect each of the three reform areas will risk exacerbating crime and creating public perceptions of an ineffective and impotent police service. More efforts should be made in supporting robust law enforcement when needed.

5. Commitment to reform It is still unclear whether commitment to reform extends throughout the police structure and what options and procedures are in place for promotion and recruitment. One possible solution would be to encourage development of a properly structured promotion and appointments policy linked to specialist and career education courses. This would encourage, and duly reward, motivated individuals to progress.

6. Political context The continuing uncertainty over Kosovo's future status continues to intrude upon policing in all three reform processes, as well as stability, across the entire region. Unless and until that question is resolved, it will be difficult for normal policing to begin in earnest.

7. Equipment and assistance. In many cases, the physical infrastructure, equipment, and personnel of a police force undergoing reform are either compromised beyond repair, unusable or simply unavailable for use by the new force. It is thus crucial that the practical assistance required is given quickly, and that this assistance is sustained; police reform is a long-term investment.

The international dimension

8. Planning a post-conflict response In post-conflict environments, police reform will be a component of wider peace-building efforts. Yet detailed planning tends to take place belatedly in the scramble following the end of a conflict when there is no time for reflection and consideration. More thought needs to be allocated to pre-planning and the timely formulation of a clear blueprint of the practical steps needed to implement reform, rather than the ad hoc planning that is often the norm.

9. Deployment of international officers In Kosovo, international police deployment came too late, lagging behind the establishment of the international administration. Problems were compounded by varying standards of ability and experience of international officers, complicated

lines of authority and an almost continual rotation of senior staff. Having a permanent multi-national roster of officers willing to serve in an international force and able to deploy at short notice would avoid having to go through cumbersome recruitment from national police posts. Ad hoc decision-making could be avoided by utilizing the expertise of veteran personnel, retained through careful rotation of experienced staff. Lines of authority should be streamlined.

10. Pre-deployment training Those charged with providing international assistance to police development are often not culturally and linguistically attuned to the nuances of the situation, and are therefore restricted in their ability to impart skills and knowledge fully. Greater weight should be given to pre-deployment and on-mission training, including in local languages.

11, Additional areas of expertise The complex sphere of police reform – which includes issues of management, institutional restructuring, education and engagement with civil society – is perhaps too multi-faceted to be left solely to police officers, who are currently almost the exclusive source of staff for missions. Involving a wider range of personnel with relevant skills and experience could be beneficial.

12. Accompanying criminal justice reform. Police reform cannot be successful if it is carried out in isolation: its accomplishment is intimately bound up with other issues, namely judicial and penal reform. Planning needs to be integrated so that police and criminal justice reform can run concurrently, allowing mutual reinforcement of the processes.

Introduction

ACHIEVING AND MAINTAINING THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS often requires radical reform to police institutions and the introduction of a new style of policing. Such reform aims to transform the structure and purpose of these institutions in keeping with the needs of a durable peace settlement. In addition, in the case studies examined by this report, a further

aim of reformers has been to assist peace-building efforts through reconciling former foes within existing police institutions.' Successful police reform requires considerable levels of international support and involvement over a sustained period of time. Not only is the reconstruction of the police prohibitively expensive for countries impoverished by conflict, but it is a task that local authorities often cannot be trusted to perform without external monitoring of the integrity of the process. The commitment is not just financial: technical support is also required in the form of experienced international personnel. Since police reform became an integral part of UN peacekeeping missions in the early 1990s, the role of external personnel has expanded dramatically, moving from a strictly monitoring function to designing and implementing local police reforms. In many ways, the experience of the Balkans has served as a laboratory for the development of emerging concepts of police reform. Given the newness of police reform within the traditional peacekeeping mandate, this learning process often has been of an *ad hoc* nature. However, it is becoming more common for officers to move from one international mission to another, bringing their learning and experience. Some of the international officers in Kosovo had previous experience in Bosnia and Herzegovina and earlier police reform missions. In turn, some moved on to police reforming roles in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in Macedonia and Serbia. Lessons learned from earlier missions have been taken on board in the three later cases and concepts pioneered in the Balkans are already being exported to police reform processes elsewhere; for example, the model of accelerated learning developed in Kosovo is being used in Afghanistan. There is need to learn lessons for applying the reform in Iraq, Somalia, Liberia and other places where the conflict has disintegrated the fabric and structure of administrative and civil society.' In addition, members of the reformed police forces themselves have also gone on to advise other nations involved in similar efforts.'

Police reform is a central feature of the fledgling peace processes now underway in the southern Balkans, where it has received considerable international assistance. There has been extensive re-structuring of existing police forces and, in the case of Kosovo, the establishment of an entirely new one. In Kosovo since mid-1999, an international force under United Nations authority has been carrying out interim policing functions while training a local service that will eventually take over. In Macedonia, a core component of the 2001 Dayton Ohio peace agreement provides that Albanians and other minorities will be integrated into the police in numbers that

better reflect the size of their population. A similar reform process is happening in the Southern Serbian counties of Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac.'

With the fast pace of reform, however, there has yet to be a systematic examination of what an international audience can learn from police reform programmes in the Balkans. The challenges in the region are similar to those elsewhere, where a police force has been extensively reformed or reconstructed as part of a wider overhaul of existing institutions mandated by a negotiated peace process. In post-conflict situations, in areas where the police have been directly involved, or are perceived to have taken sides, police reform is often a key step towards sustainable peace. Often the fact as to whether or not a conflict has been one of internal as opposed to external security will be an indicator as to whether police reform will later be required. Police reform is therefore an area that is receiving increasing attention from policy-makers, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the media and academics. Based on comparative analysis and research in the field, conducted mainly between September 2002 and March 2003, the conclusions of this report are applicable beyond the immediate areas in question. It is unlikely that the lessons from the Balkans will represent the final word on the police reform aspects of conflict resolution, but they do offer valuable insights.

Kosovo— the context for reform

With the break up of the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s and accompanying tension and instability, former policing institutions and frameworks were compromised and associated with political violence. Following the secession, in some cases violent, of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 1998 violence erupted between ethnic Serb and Albanian communities in Kosovo, a province of the largest Yugoslav state, Serbia. The results were international intervention in 1999 and the entity's current administrative status under the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). Southern Serbia and the neighboring state of Macedonia (the areas bordering Kosovo to the south and east) were also affected, with fighting breaking out in 2000 and 2001 respectively, between ethnic Albanian militant groups and the predominantly ethnic Slav authorities of both states. The sizeable Albanian communities in each area, together with other minorities, were under-represented, although not completely absent from the ranks of the police.

Each police force tended to be overwhelmingly staffed by members of one ethnic group and policed in the interests of that group to the exclusion of others. The police in Southern Serbia

were dominated almost wholly by Serbs; it was a similar story with Macedonians in Macedonia. There were demographically reflective numbers of Albanians in the old Yugoslav police but they were ejected from their posts following the stripping of Kosovo's autonomy by Slobodan Milosevic in 1990. Traditionally, the police forces of the former Yugoslavia were closely associated with politicised policing. As Michael Dzeidzic and Andrew Bair observed:

The police role has been to maintain control on behalf of whoever wields powers. The purpose was regulation and control of individual conduct, as opposed to protection of the public against criminal activity.'

The police were intimately involved during each conflict, which pitched competing group conceptions of the future status of each territory against each other. However, reformulated and reconstituted, the police were assigned a central role in each peace-building process.

Kosovo

Throughout the 1990s, policing in Kosovo had been the preserve of Serbian police and, during the fighting in 1998 and 1999, also of paramilitary factions on both sides. Their methods were brutal and illegitimate, driving a further wedge between an already divided populace. In recognition of the divisiveness of the institution, attempts to create a more acceptable civilian policing alternative were a central feature of internationally-brokered negotiations during 1998-1999 to configure an acceptable political blueprint for the province. These proved unsuccessful and an international coalition launched attacks upon Serbia to force a settlement. The end of the war in May 1999 and the departure of Serbian police and paramilitaries in its aftermath necessitated a new beginning to policing. Accompanying UNMIK was an international police force which assumed executive authority for policing, while at the same time the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) began helping to train a local force that would eventually take over that responsibility.

Police in some divided societies have historically been more interested in protecting the state than the rights of individual citizens, especially when the state is an instrument for preserving one community's dominance over the other. In response, communities that feel excluded by the police tend to develop their own mechanisms for regulating law and order. The development of insurgent or paramilitary groups may be one example of this, though such functions are also assumed by less formalised networks – such as tribes, extended families and

clans – who tend to follow local rather than central social authority. The result is a large social sphere from which uniformed police and policing are largely absent and unwelcome.

Objectives of democratic policing

- **Redefinition** of the force's mission away from the state, making it accountable both under the law for its actions and to the community it serves
- **Restructuring its institutions, deployment and operations**
- **Re-affirmation** of its non-political orientation by on the ground actions

Existing police organisations are extensively restructured in order to de-politicise them and make their workings more professional. Where quasi-military structures exist, they are dismantled and replaced by more inclusive, slimmed-down institutions with clearly defined roles." These foundations aim to provide for more non-partisan, law-abiding, competent and accountable institutions than before. Through changing structures the overall objective is to shift public attitudes so that, ultimately the police force becomes an institution that only criminals need fear.

Policing is part of the problem...

The processes that have been attempted over the past decade.'With this principle in mind, the hope of on-the-ground reformers working on a practical level to increase minority representation or community-orientated functions for example, is not just that the complexion of the police will change but also the ethos and practices by which policing functions are carried out.

This is a two-way process. Besides changing the police, the attitudes of the wider community must also change. Policing can only be effective if it takes place in a meaningful partnership with the entire community. Communities become involved both through decentralizing decision-making, as well as being involved in the process of reform and thereby being given a stake in its outcome.

Features of police reform in the Balkans

In many conflict situations the police are regarded as emblematic of the problems and abuses that have torn societies apart. In inter-group conflicts, the police are often staffed by a particular ethnic or political group and are associated with repression, partiality, unaccountability and militarism. In such situations, significant sections of the community are either under-represented or completely absent from police ranks and policing in general may serve the

interests of one segment of society to the exclusion of the whole. Police behavior is frequently cited as a factor that entrenches the divisions in already polarized populations. However, when conflicts flare up between communities, members of the police are often forced to take sides in the violence through their role in attempting to enforce law and public order, through hostility directed against them, or as a result of state employment of the police as an authoritarian or militaristic tool. Once involved, their one-sided image is reinforced, thus perpetuating mistrust and conflict. Often police work is carried out with scant regard for human rights, the rule of law or due legal process.*This points at a need for reform, both structurally and culturally.

- Abbreviated training periods for new recruits
- Retraining for serving officers
- Management and structural change so that the new force may best reflect and embody the principles of democratic policing

All of these processes follow a similar model. In all three southern Balkan reform processes, there are major similarities in the accelerated quick-start officer training programmes, the curriculum taught, and the provisions

... And part of the solution reform

Despite being such an important part of the problem, effective, professional and accountable police forces, or reformed and reconstituted forces, may also occupy a central role in protecting and safeguarding the implementation of a peace process. For those who have suffered at the hands of the police in the past, such a situation is often tinged with bitter irony. But effective and credible police services are essential to sustaining the momentum of reconciliation, since without civil order and law enforcement the chances of wider political, social and economic progress taking root are reduced to nil. Thus, a reformed crime-fighting apparatus does much more than just guarantee public order.

The police are also an important symbol. For the rule of law to be effective and for a new political regime to have any chance of success, the police must demonstrate that they can gain the trust of all sections of the community. Making a clean break from any repressive practices of the past is an important sign of a society's transition away from conflict. It indicates a community-wide acceptance of the settlement and the wider resolution process. Moreover, the changing character of the police is a defining badge of a new political and ideological outlook.

A shared model The emerging concept of police reform in post-conflict situations has come to be of police known as 'democratic policing'. A distillation of ideal practice, democratic policing is a system of policing that emphasizes respect for human dignity, civil rights, accountability and the rule of law. It has been the guiding principle behind many of the reform

The difficulties of effecting reform

The obstacles associated with police reform cut across national boundaries. The police have proved to be one of the institutions most resistant to reform following the formal end of a conflict. Even in instances where police reforms enjoy extensive donor support, the difficulties go beyond the merely financial. Infant police forces face major obstacles to creating trust and building legitimacy in societies where a uniformed officer has in the recent past been an emblem of fear rather than one of protection and comfort.

While blending different communities or ethnicities together into a single police force may be highly symbolic, altering a policing culture that remains deeply identified with one community and increasing confidence among historically excluded communities is a painstakingly slow process. It also often requires profound structural change. Legacies of mistrust are difficult to overcome; a culture of reliance on and trust in the police is difficult to create. Operating in a tense political context, already difficult work is complicated by the lack of legal and logistical support that police forces elsewhere take for granted. Mutually linked and reinforcing, the chief problems facing the police can be divided into a number of categories:

- **Law enforcement** One by-product of many peace agreements is a sharp rise in crime owing to the lawlessness associated with a traumatized society, a shattered economy, large number of idle former fighters and a large number of weapons in circulation. "Criminal gangs also tend to take advantage of the past to turn these lawless areas into nests for trafficking weapons, drugs and people. The perception has taken root in many post-conflict societies (including those in the southern Balkans) that the end of conflict brings a society awash with illegal weapons where criminality is allowed to reign supreme, and the possibility of instability being created or perpetuated for development of criminal opportunity must not be ignored.
- **Institutional resistance to change** As part of reform, or in order to implement reform, a police force's operational culture often has to be addressed. Police forces are frequently described as distrustful of outsiders and resistant to change. "Changes in philosophy and

approach at the top are often slow to percolate down through the rest of the organization. It is difficult for police to re-orient themselves away from what they know and embrace new attitudes: while some officers will be amenable to change, others will not. While reforms may redress the issues of numerical under-representation, the new officers who have benefitted from improved training begin as beat patrol officers; it takes much longer to assume leadership positions and affect institutional culture. The approach in Macedonia and Southern Serbia has been to integrate personnel from previously excluded groups into the police in an effort to build trust and reconciliation. This, however, brings its own challenges.

- **Entrenched public skepticism** Convincing the general public of the sincerity of police reforms presents a major challenge. In societies where the police have long been associated with occupation and repression, non-institutional policing mechanisms such as family and community have deep roots and long histories. Initiatives to make police forces more transparent and inclusive are not able to erase that tradition, making the task of embedding legitimacy all the more difficult. There is also the problem of dealing with a changing social context among the population. In deeply divided societies, one section of the public may see the police as protectors of the public good, while the other section will for the same reason regard them as instruments of discrimination or repression. These conflicting perceptions cannot be changed overnight. Many torn societies see political reform as a zero-sum game in which a perceived gain for one community inevitably entails a loss for the other. Accordingly, new police forces in the early stages of reform may actually begin with less firm support than they enjoyed under the previous regime.
- **Political uncertainty** Police reform often takes place in the least favourable of environments. Economic collapse, weak traditions of statehood and continuing political uncertainty make vulnerable post-conflict environments even more potentially combustible and hence even more difficult to police. Just one incident has the risk of unraveling political fabrics that have been delicately pieced together.
- **Criminal justice reform** Institutional reform of the police is insufficient to bring about a new start for policing in the absence of reforms to the other institutions of criminal justice, the courts and the legal system. Policing has been likened to one leg of a three-

legged stool: to support the stool, the other legs need to keep pace with reform to the police. If judicial and legal reform is too slow or limited, the positive impacts of improvements in policing will be nullified."Fundamental institutions such as courts or an effective legal system are often destroyed, damaged or politicized by years of conflict and in many cases may need to be built from scratch.

- **Under-funded**, under-trained and under-equipped Police reform does not come cheap and levels of funding are often insufficient to meet the expectations that come with it. The importance of getting new forces out onto the streets as quickly as is practicably possible necessitates training periods that are comparatively short. Reformed police forces also tend to inherit equipment of either outmoded quality and/or insufficient quantity to confront these numerous challenges effectively.

International assistance and the challenge of police reform

Getting policing right is one of the most fundamental components of post-conflict reconstruction, but the task of constructing new police forces and refurbishing existing ones is, as explained, fraught with difficulty. International policing assistance is vital for reform to succeed but it also suffers from a myriad of problems.

Practical responsibility for implementing police reform has fallen to an amalgam of civilian police officers hailing from different countries that operate under the umbrella of a number of international organizations. "Serving officers in their home countries, these individuals are seconded from their home forces and operate under the flag of an inter-governmental organization. When a peacekeeping mission falls under UN auspices, it has been the responsibility of United Nations Civilian Police (CIVPOL), a section in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. In other circumstances, international organizations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) or the European Union (which assumed responsibility for police reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2003) have taken the lead. Officers tend to serve stints of between one and two years before retorting to their home stations

The task these officers face is daunting. There are major institutional and cultural obstacles inhibiting international police missions. The growing visibility of international officers in missions has not necessarily equated with greater efficiency. Broadly speaking, the effectiveness of the international police is intimately related to the scope of their mandate. Early

mandates restricted international police to monitoring the local police force but accorded them few powers of intervention. As a result they had a limited capacity to encourage positive change in the character of these forces, which made them seem powerless and ineffectual. These problems were compounded by organizational deficiencies, including tardy deployment, chaotic bureaucracy and insufficient equipment and transportation. Concerns have also been raised about the inconsistent quality of the international officers themselves. Many come from countries that lack strong civilian policing traditions and there has been a wide variation in language skills, policing experience, personal ability and commitment. Somewhat paradoxically, it may not be helpful if officers from a similar policing culture arrive. If they are acculturated in a comparably autocratic milieu, it will be duly difficult to impart 'best practice' towards their new charges. However, with the growing trend towards greater empowerment of police assistance missions, the potential scope for changing practice is increasing.

Police establishment: Kosovo

International administration, international police

THE UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN Kosovo (UNMIK) faced a complete policing vacuum when it assumed responsibility for the province in 1999, and created two new forces to fill it. Policing had previously been the preserve of the Serbian police and paramilitaries who departed in the aftermath of the war between Serbia and forces acting under the authority of NATO. Under UNMIK, an international police force was tasked with primary responsibility for actual policing, while an accelerated plan was made for founding and developing a professional, impartial and politically neutral indigenous police service to take over that responsibility — the Kosovo Police Service (KPS). The UNMIK force was composed of police officers of more than fifty nationalities with experience of policing but not of Kosovo; the KPS had local knowledge and linguistic advantage but little policing experience. Amidst an uncertain wider political context, this approach of creating two new police forces has been to a large extent a novel experiment.

The concept of a local Kosovar police service, trained and equipped by international sponsors, was turned from a commitment in a peace plan into a reality on the streets. However, while the police have contributed to bringing a semblance of order and stability to the province, the core problem, the future status of the territory, remains unaddressed. In such an uncertain climate, any police force's ability to improve intergroup relations is strictly limited."

Resolution 1244 and a new beginning to policing

With the end of the war, the UN was charged with creating a new political and policing architecture. The United Nations Interim Administrative Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) was endowed with broader executive and administrative powers than any previous peacekeeping operation in UN history. It would have primary political and administrative responsibility for Kosovo, which it was expected to transfer to local politicians after a suitable transition period." Resolution 1244 did not attempt to resolve the claims of Serbs and Albanians to the territory of Kosovo, the central issue in the conflict. Instead it postponed discussion of Kosovo's future and reaffirmed the international community's support for the territorial integrity of the Yugoslav federation. "It was a sweeping mandate, the first instance of the United Nations assuming complete and open-ended control over a disputed territory as part of a peacekeeping operation

Policing was a central feature of the interim period. Previous blueprints for the province – drafted during failed attempts in 1998 and early 1999 to avert conflict – had envisaged that the local force would assume primary responsibility for policing, with advice and training supplied by international monitors. However, all of those plans envisaged the process taking place in the aftermath of a negotiated political agreement, not a war. No previous plan had foreseen executive authority for policing coming from the international community. But in the absence of a viable local police force following the conflict there was no practical alternative to a direct takeover of civilian policing: responsibility for civilian policing fell to the international community for the first time in Kosovo. The policing mandate involved two important innovations. For the first time, international police would be directly responsible for law enforcement operations. And while previous mandates had provided for training, mentoring and oversight of local police forces, the Kosovo mandate tasked international organisations with building a new force from the ground up. Once that force was able to stand on its own, authority would be transferred in stages from the international force, whose role would then revert to one of the local police.

There were very few specifics about the new local police force, the KPS, contained in the legal instrument that created it. Resolution 1244 did not specify the ethnic makeup of the new force, *its* structure or its specific tasks. The shape of the force was only to become clear in the months after the arrival of UNMIK, when international police officers began planning the KPS. It was initially decided that the KPS force would number 4,000, a figure that was revised up to 6,000 in 2001. The intended composition was multi-ethnic, with a 20 percent quota for women

officers, above the Western European average for female participation, which stands at 10 percent. The force would be trained in the ethos of 'democratic policing'. The aims of the force's creators were as ambitious as the obstacles facing them were large:

It's a combined model of North American and Western European policing traditions – a collective version of those countries that have a history of providing democratic policing, that is, policing where the rights of the citizen are meant to come before protecting the interests of an ethnic group or the state. It's an alien model and one that few of these new officers will have had exposure to. Culturally it means overcoming barriers that we [the international police] are working against all the time: perceptions of the police, perceptions of other groups. There are also the problems offending and having the time to set aside to ensure that each of these individuals become mature police officers."

Two police forces: UNMIK police and the KPS

The officers who make up UNMIK's police force are startlingly diverse. Kosovo's police stations contain a mixture of uniforms and languages from more than 50 countries. The quality of officers in terms of skills, range of experience, standards and previous training is equally diverse. Given the large number of donor countries and their geographical spread, it is hardly surprising that the mission combines such a wide array of policing styles and practice. Nor are the different approaches to policing restricted to inter-country variation; officers from different departments in the same country display different attitudes to the same problems. These variations tend to feed through to the training given to KPS cadets, who were often offered contradictory advice about how to approach the same problem. What many international police officers found frustrating was not the difficulty of policing with limited resources, but that they were working in a wholly alien political context. With the exception of officers from Northern Ireland, few of the international officers had experience of policing a divided population. Another significant problem was lack of language skills. Without the ability to communicate, officers are unable to interact directly with the public, a handicap that constrains their ability to police effectively.

The other half of the uniformed policing equation, the indigenous, long-term inheritors of the entire policing set-up in Kosovo, are just as diverse as their international counterparts in UNMIK as they vary widely in terms of age, background, fitness and aptitude. Some of the new recruits barely reach the minimum age requirement; others are over 50 and span the range of educational and professional backgrounds. More than half were former members of the Kosovo

Liberation Army (KLA); some of the older recruits also had previous experience as police officers in the pre-1989 Yugoslav police.

The OSCE and UNMIK are at pains to stress that the force is comprised of all the province's ethnic groups – Albanians, Serbs, Turks, Roma, Bosniaks, Gorani and Ashkalis – who train together and wear the same badge. All those who sign up for the service take a pledge of impartiality and are bound by extensive and wide-ranging regulations."But the reality on the ground is different. Although members of different ethnic groups learn together in the same classes, they attend separate graduation ceremonies: an occasion incorporating all ethnic groups is still considered too inflammatory. This is a telling sign of how far Kosovo still has to come and the difficulty of turning aspirations into a workable reality. There are just a handful of stations where Albanians and Serbs work side by side. Attempts to impose integration have not been successful. While officially multi-ethnic, in practice there are few instances of genuine co-operation.

Although conceived as a politically neutral police service, given the political turmoil surrounding the creation of the force it would have been unrealistic to expect members of the KPS to have succeeded in insulating themselves from the charged political environment around them. Generally KPS officers sense that their institution is important in leading Kosovo into a new political future. But, while this feeling is common to officers of all ethnic backgrounds, preferences regarding the future political direction of the force depend largely on the community to which the officer belongs.

Eight months to be a cop.

When I first arrived in Kosovo and I was told about the training requirements and need to expeditiously train the professional police officer cognizant of Human rights of accused persons and criminal elements. I learned that the police officer has to be on the job after attaining training in 8 months. This reminded me of my father telling me that in 1940's a teacher for primary schools in Pakistan used to undergo training for 2 years before being certified to work as teacher. With the World Bank intervention and need to achieve education for all and high literacy, the teachers training has finally come to a comprehensive and concise 3 months training currently in vogue in Pakistan. This has resulted in compromise on quality of teachers and education, but that is what has been fact and Pakistan society is struggling through the same.

However in Kosovo, the period of 8 months training was rigorous and more comprehensive. I witnessed that the output and product of training was fully functional and in accordance with the International standards.

There were two major institutional actors share responsibility for creating a police force for Kosovo, the OSCE and UNMIK. The OSCE has initial responsibility for training the new recruits at the Kosovo Police Service School. As the cadets graduate from this initial stage of training and arrive at police stations for field training, UNMIK police then assume primary responsibility for their development. Initially (1999-2000), eight weeks were spent in the classroom, though for subsequent classes of cadets this was extended to nine, and then to twelve weeks of training. Seventeen weeks are to be spent in the field under the supervision of international officers. Following that period, new officers are deemed sufficiently prepared to undertake independent assignments. While the classroom training has worked well, problems have been encountered once recruits leave for field training.

It is symbolically and practically imperative that locally trained officers get out onto the streets as quickly as possible. The only way to achieve this is to expedite their training period. An abbreviated training period contains inherent risks. In the UK, for example, initial training comprises 20 weeks followed by training modules spanning a two-year probationary period. The worry is that one is trading away long-term competence in order to build, in the short term, a strong initial basis for the overall process of police reform. Without a solid foundation from which to develop, there is a risk that the qualities and aptitudes of future recruits may suffer. It is thus crucial that the short training period is used as effectively as possible. In Kosovo, as much material as possible has been packed into the time allocated for initial school training: it is a significant achievement. It is rather in the following field training component that more serious programme flaws begin to appear.

Classroom training

Training takes place in an impressively refurbished facility in Vucitrn, 20 miles north of Pristina. The course covers a broad range of essential policing skills: patrol duties; use of force and firearms; criminal investigation; evidence gathering; traffic control; first aid; applicable laws; and interviewing techniques. "The teaching methodology is interactive, with class discussions, group work, individual presentations, practical exercises, role-playing exercises and case studies being emphasised over didactic learning." Instruction for the course is provided by

international police officers,"many of them from Western European and North American countries that exemplify best practice in democratic policing. As the KPS expanded in line with the planned transition programme, the range of required courses increased and new training modules have been developed to teach specialised, advanced courses, such as supervisory skills and management. In another sign of its maturation, some KPS officers who graduated from the first batch of classes have returned for training that will enable them to act as police instructors.

But while some parts of the process have worked well, others have not. It has been understandably difficult to translate the abstract idea of democratic policing into everyday reality, especially for an area that has very little experience of such a style of policing.

For many officers it remains a vague concept ,variously described as: 'Making sure people were helped out... the difference between the present type of policing and the past... not hitting suspects... taking down thorough notes on a case... doing what you know to be the right thing'.While eager to emphasise their democratic policing credentials, remarks and attitudes suggest a discordant vision of effective policing. The combination of time constraints, and the cadets' unfamiliarity with the core concepts of democratic policing, presented a constant challenge to the training programme. Because of the tight schedule there is little time to address topics in depth and forcing trainers to deal quickly with complex concepts makes it difficult for recruits to absorb the new information fully. The time available for teaching is reduced further by the need for simultaneous translation from English, the language of instruction, into Albanian and Serbian.

Field training

Following graduation from classroom training at the academy, cadets leave for training in the field. Due to the short training period, critical responsibility for moulding inexperienced officers into seasoned cops rests with the serving police officers assigned to mentor each of the new recruits as their Field Training Officer. The Field Training Officer (FTO) program is meant to consolidate the classroom work undertaken at the police school, fill in gaps in knowledge, and build on skills learned. The program envisaged that each KPS officer would work under the close supervision of an UNMIK officer in order to learn policing best practice on the job. The international officer is supposed to act as a mentor and provide feedback on the cadet's performance and aptitude ."By the end of the field training period, the new cadet is expected to be able to function independently as a police officer. In many ways, the field training programme

is the most crucial phase of the cadet's educational development. However, uneven interest, variable dedication to the task at hand and the mixed ability of the international officers deployed as field trainers meant that there has been a distinct lack of structure and standardisation in the programme for new recruits.

The initial field training programme was found wanting in a number of respects. The inconsistent quality of officers in the UNMIK police also meant that many field trainers were barely knowledgeable enough themselves to give proper instruction; many had received only rudimentary training in their own country, and the pre-deployment training for Kosovo proved insufficient to fill the gaps. Many station commanders put a higher priority on maintaining public order than training KPS officers for their long-term responsibilities and there was no coherent policy on what to do with the recruits once they reached the stations. Consequently, many KPS officers were falling short of the goals for developing policing skills set out in the original timetable. The entire programme had to be extensively restructured in 2000 in order to improve its effectiveness. A Primary Field Training Officer (PFTO) scheme was introduced whereby international officers with the requisite experience and interest would be identified and given primary responsibility for cadet training. The subsequent filtering out of many UNMIK personnel from the training programme inevitably meant a rise in the ratio of local officers to international officers. Compared to the previous figure of 1:1, the new figure set the ratio at an optimum of 5:1, though in many stations a shortage of PFTOs meant that the ratio was often two or three times that figure "As the KPS progressed, the situation improved and there are now local KPS officers from early graduating classes being assigned mentor ship roles Currently there are 500 local field trainers working in tandem with international officers

The absence of a wider judicial structure

A major problem that faced both international and local police when UNMIK took over in 1999 was the absence of a wider criminal justice framework. There was no functioning court system. The courts had originally been run by the Serb-dominated Yugoslav administration, which had systematically disbarred Albanian judges and lawyers over the previous ten years. With the departure of many of Kosovo's Serb inhabitants in the aftermath of the war, there were not enough trained lawyers, prosecutors, judges and administrators to allow the system to run effectively. There was no correctional service and the prisons that survived the war had a tiny capacity.

While the United Nations has established a correctional service and some existing facilities were expanded and refurbished, Kosovo's prisons remain short of cell space."The judicial system is equally ill-equipped. Lacking infrastructure, money, equipment and personnel it remains unable to cope with the volume of cases brought before it."The problems affecting it are practical, legal and political and many can only be addressed through technical assistance programmes, not direct financial aid. Even after the appointment of international judges and lawyers and the accelerated training of local legal personnel, the system remains understaffed. Adding to the disarray is the disputed nature of Kosovo's legal framework. Disagreement over the applicability of laws has worsened the tangled system, with politics frequently intruding into the legal process."A lack of detachment and objectivity among the predominantly Albanian judiciary is also evident, exposing the legal system to criticism from international observers for violating international standards.'

Working conditions

Problems of infrastructure exist at the police level too. When the first batch of officers began to arrive at their stations in the late summer of 1999 more often than not they were greeted by an empty shell. Many of the buildings were without heating or electricity and few possessed paper and pens, let alone cars or a communication system. No criminal record database existed.

Things have not vastly improved. A large number of Kosovo's police stations, especially those situated outside the main cities, remain dank and dilapidated. The lack of computers and other office equipment is a persistent problem. The radio communications network is patchy and there is still a shortage of working police jeeps. Under staffing is chronic: the number of international officers actually serving in the province has consistently remained below the level pledged by contributing nations in the aftermath of the war."Crucially, it was not up to the necessary levels when needed most: the months in 1999 immediately after international assumption of administrative control.

Regardless of a local officer's ethnicity, one complaint that cuts across all boundaries concerns salaries and working conditions. Officers are paid approximately E200 per month, difficult to get by on in an area where the cost of living has soared since the arrival of the international military, administrative and police forces. In spite of the inherent danger of police work there are no occupational benefits, such as health insurance or pensions.°The low wages are a -source of resentment, causing many officers to question the value that the province's

international administrators attach to their work. Wages are also not high enough to insulate the police from the temptation of corruption.

A first for policing in Kosovo is women officers. Some 20 percent of the officers are women and getting used to the presence of female officers is a challenge for fellow officers and the public alike. Female officers speak of being patronised by their male counterparts and shielded from some duties on account of their supposed lack of physical strength. They often feel the need to prove themselves in performing the same tasks as men. The biggest complaint, however, is how members of the public treat female officers. On call outs, woman officers complain that they are either ignored by the public or made into targets for abuse.^o

The transfer of policing responsibility from UNMIK to the KPS

The training induction programme, which transforms recruits from inexperienced cadets into seasoned officers, mirrors at an individual level what UNMIK is trying to achieve with the KPS at an institutional level. The plan envisaged a gradual transfer of responsibility, a transition of four stages, from executive authority policing to monitoring. A local leadership structure is being installed as an element of this ultimate transition in 2006, with the intention that the 6,000 officers of the KPS will assume responsibility for all aspects of the organisation, taking over the full repertoire of policing tasks. As the KPS builds up its capacities, UNMIK will be simultaneously scaling back.

The process is scheduled to end with a stand-alone local police force in 2006, with a strong international monitoring and assistance component remaining behind. The process is well underway. Over four years, the balance of responsibility has tilted between international and local officers: incrementally, local officers are assuming more responsibility. There are now more local than international officers on the beat. By mid-2003, there will be nearly 5,000 KPS officers in the stations who have attained varying stages of professional development. Some of the recruits are fresh out of the academy and undergoing field training, while many have moved into a second stage of training, where they are allowed to go out on independent patrol. Others have been picked to fill senior management positions, shadowing the international officers whom they will eventually replace.

Ultimately, the success of police reform will be judged by whether the KPS becomes an independent and self-sustaining policing service that embodies the principles that international police have tried to instil. UNMIK and the OSCE will be successful only insofar as they manage

to work themselves out of a job. Kosovo being the first executive authority mission, there is no precedent for managing the transition from an international executive authority mission to local ownership."Out of necessity, improvisation has characterised the learning process.

UNMIK's task is not just one of redesigning the institutional set-up of the police. An important aspect of police reform has been to put in place a strong policing ethos and the means to guarantee its integrity. International officers, working under the aegis of the UN, have been charged with designing operational structures and procedures. Getting these features right is crucial to the force's ability to adapt to the democratic policing model. Working from their headquarters in Pristina, UNMIK officers set about constructing the organisation from scratch. They created an organisational ladder, and specified the criteria required for each position so that appointments would be made on merit. UNMIK also sought to embed democratic policing principles into the procedures of the force. By 2001, more than 500 policies, concerning operational and regulatory issues, and dealing with subjects such as the conduct of officers and the protection of suspects' rights, were adopted."

Mistakes are inevitable, especially when embarking on a process for the first time, and should be learned from when similar transitions occur again elsewhere. There have been four major problems during the transition in Kosovo. The first is the hesitancy of the international officers to hand over meaningful levels of operational independence to local officers or to elicit ideas from them in crafting the ultimate shape of the force. One senior international figure bemoaned that "the KPS are being treated like children" and that overlooking or disregarding them could have long-term consequences for the development of the force. The second concerns political influence seeping into the selection process for leadership positions – there are perceptions that the appointment of certain senior officers has been based as much on political affiliation as policing competency."A third problem is lack of direction in the process. With responsibility for the development of the KPS effectively shared between various arms of UNMIK and the OSCE, the different agencies involved have brought their own agendas, which some feel has at times resulted in a lack of clear and coherent planning and co-ordination. The fourth problem is perhaps the most crucial to the long-term success of police reform in Kosovo – funding. To realise and sustain the ideal of crafting a new police service conforming to the ideals of policing best practice requires a sustained investment of money backed by political will. Even the annual budgetary provision of just under €40 million per annum was deemed insufficient to

meet the basic equipment and overhead needs of the force, and was certainly not enough to achieve the democratic policing ideals of its founders. As the Kosovo General Government Budget for 2003 admitted, "there are a number of unfunded capital project proposals for 2003 that will require external donor support to provide important capabilities to support law and order.'

The problem of securing funding can only grow ever more acute as increasing responsibility is handed from UNMIK to the KPS and donor fatigue grows. Behind such obvious 'front-end' needs such as uniforms, weapons, vehicles and training, there appears little prospect that Kosovo will be able to shoulder by itself all of the financial burdens associated with running a modern police service. The very long-term nature of any police reform project means that detecting any change will take a long time. There also appears to be additional reticence on the part of donors to continue funding ongoing projects where returns or outputs are mostly intangible.

Conclusion

The experience of Kosovo shows how police reform can be central to stabilising a volatile post-conflict situation. It also offers important lessons in how to make future instances when a police force has to be established from scratch run more smoothly.

Four years into the interim period, Kosovo is much more tranquil than when international administrators took control of the province. However, the experience of Kosovo points to the profound difficulty of establishing a new force to carry out policing in a troubled political atmosphere.-The interim period in Kosovo has presented significant challenges for police officers, both local and international.

There are a number of reasons for this. Both the local and international police have been operating in an extremely challenging environment where they lack the wider legal and logistical support which police forces with a longer history take for granted. The officers of the UNMIK police had to deal with policing an unfamiliar environment. At the same time there was an adjustment for local Kosovars who were assuming new roles as officers committed to a democratic policing ethic. Added to this were some problems with training, lean funding and the prevailing sense of limbo stemming from the continuing uncertainty over Kosovo's future status. Taking into consideration the experimental nature of Kosovo's policing reform – where the unique nature of the challenge meant there was little pertinent learning to fall back on – the project must, broadly, be considered a success.

Elements of the model have already been adapted. The two-fold model of policing pioneered in the province was subsequently employed during East Timor's UN-assisted transition period. It seems likely that the 'Kosovo approach' may be a model for future instances where an existing police apparatus has either departed or is deemed so compromised that it is not an option in the interim "Other features of Kosovo's police construction project have resonances elsewhere. In an effort to create a police force as speedily as possible and get police out onto the streets, the training period for KPS recruits was abbreviated; this practice has been copied in the subsequent police reconstruction missions in Macedonia and Southern Serbia where speedy training of minority recruits was also crucial to the mission's success.

So, what needs to be learnt from the experience of police reform in Kosovo? One important lesson is the need for intergovernmental bodies to have in place contingency plans to enable the rapid deployment of personnel and resources needed to turn the international community's political commitments into reality. Any future assumption by international police of responsibility over a territory needs to hit the ground running. While policing remains a long-term project, there is much that can be done to ensure that it gets off to as good a start as possible. In Kosovo, slow deployment of personnel, their uneven quality, and cumbersome bureaucratic procedures hampered many aspects of the initial police reform effort. At the same time, it needs to be recognised that even the best planning and preparation can only accomplish so much in a situation of continuing political uncertainty. Kosovo is a vivid demonstration of the difficulties. Even for a reform project on the scale of Kosovo, a project which has attracted exceptionally high levels of international support for a police reform effort, progress has been accompanied by genuine uncertainty about whether the police as an institution will survive in quite the form originally intended.

Policing a rough neighbourhood: policing Mitrovica South

Policing in the northern city of Mitrovica is a microcosm of the Kosovo-wide situation and its challenges of creating new policing institutions amid fragile institutions, competition from alternative policing structures, minimal resources and continuing inter-group strife.

Mitrovica has gained a reputation as the most disorderly of Kosovo's cities. Lying 25 miles north of Pristina and containing just over 100,000 inhabitants, the town has been described by Richard Holbrooke, ex-US envoy to the former Yugoslavia, as "the most dangerous place in Europe". Split down the middle into Albanian and Serb neighbourhoods, it is one of the most

tragic symbols of Kosovo's divided society. The Albanian population, numbering about 95,000, mostly lives south of the river Ibar that runs through the centre of the town. Around 15,000 Serbs — local residents and internally displaced persons driven from other parts of Kosovo — live in the northern part of the city and its hinterlands. The city was mixed before the war, and some Albanians continue to live in Kosovo Force (KFOR) guarded tower blocks on the northern bank of the river.

Mitrovica is effectively divided into two administrations. In the southern part, populated mostly by Albanians, UNMIK runs local services in conjunction with the elected local municipal authorities. In the Serb-dominated north, however, service provision is often disrupted owing to local resistance. The atmosphere is so tense that international police are virtually unable to carry out their day-to-day duties. No members of the KPS are stationed on the northern side.

The bridge connecting the two halves of the city is heavily fortified and guarded by French KFOR peacekeepers. It is often a focal point for communal disturbances. On a number of occasions displaced Albanians have marched on the bridge demanding the re-unification of the city and the right to return to their homes on the northern side. These demonstrations often turn violent, with sniping, firebombing and riots commonplace.

Lying a hundred yards south of the bridge in the predominantly Albanian half of the city is the South Police Station, a large dilapidated two-storey building. It is run-down, ill-equipped and possibly unsafe. With one computer for the three 12-member patrol teams and an insufficient number of vehicles, the station is home to 60 international and 40 KPS officers.

Property crime is a major problem in the city. Police are regularly called in to file crime reports on properties that have been broken into and burgled. Along with cash, the most prized booty, in a city with intermittent power supplies, are portable electricity generators. Vehicle theft is also prevalent. The biggest problem for the police is dealing with customary laws governing dispute resolution among the Albanian population, meaning that problems are often resolved without recourse to the formal justice system but through forms of communal law and tradition. The police are frequently called to take witness statements when someone is hurt or injured, fully aware of the likelihood of the victim taking action independently and not through the court system. There was little reporting of crime to the Yugoslav police by the Albanian population before the war, and this has not changed overnight.

Mitrovica and its surrounding villages are important transit points in the trafficking of women and illegal goods. Local smuggling rings have proved impossible for the international police to penetrate, even though the identity of their members is often an open secret. Adding to the language barrier faced by the hybrid force are the intelligence shortcomings, lack of informants and paucity of investigative resources. Even if the police had the requisite intelligence to carry out surveillance operations on criminal gangs they have neither language capabilities nor the resources to do so. It would be impossible, for a start, to carry out surveillance with a language assistant in tow. The police in Mitrovica, as in the rest of Kosovo, have no central identity or vehicle licence database. There is also a lack of institutional support. The inadequacy of the judicial and penal systems is felt particularly keenly by the police in southern Mitrovica. Both the court and the correctional facility are north of the river, meaning that it is often more practical to transport prisoners to court over an hour's drive away in Pristina rather than risk crossing the

In addition to responding to calls, most police time is devoted to mobile and foot patrols. Police cars cover the city as well as outlying towns and villages, a total area of about 40 square miles. They also visit mines and factories outside the city in the hope that their periodic presence will deter potential intruders. Foot patrols take in a short area around the central business district. Each patrol is normally made up of the policing triumvirate – an UNMIK officer, a KPS officer and a language assistant. The patrols are designed more with visibility than utility in mind. Mobile patrols follow regular routes. Officers seem on occasion to manufacture things to do to keep themselves occupied – more often than not traffic stops. It is an irony recognised by officers that, in one of the most apparently crime-ridden parts of the Balkans, a lot of time is spent in relative idleness, largely because the tools for proper police work are lacking.

The Kosovo Protection Corps

The Kosovo Police Service (KPS) **was** not the only new uniformed institution created in Kosovo following the NATO-led war. A second agency, known as the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC), was founded with the official purpose of providing a 'disaster response capacity.' Its real function was to give institutional cover to demobilised fighters from the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). While the existence of the KPS was explicitly mandated by UN Security Council Resolution 1244, the creation of the KPC was a by-product of the UN's obligation to oversee a transformation of the KLA.

A demilitarization agreement signed between the leadership of the KLA and KFOR on 21 June 1999 provided for the establishment of a new Kosovar agency to incorporate some of the former fighters; in return, the KLA agreed to disband and decommission its weapons. Some of the KLA's estimated 25,000 members would be assimilated on an individual basis into the new police force. The agreement also promised "the formation of an army in Kosovo on the lines of the US National Guard in due course as part of a political process designed to determine Kosovo's future status. It was this force that was expected — along with the KPS

-to absorb the largest number of ex-fighters.

In the months that followed, a debate raged back and forth as to the precise role of the so-called National Guard. While KFOR and UNMIK had an emergency response unit in mind, the KLA's vision was much closer to that of a regular army or defence force.^o

The KPC was finally established in September 1999, days after KFOR had pronounced itself satisfied with the KLA'S demilitarization. Its organisation reflected a compromise between the international administration's desire for a demilitarized force with largely civilian duties, and the KLA's ambition for a force that would serve as the nucleus of a future national army.

The new organisation would have no explicit offensive or defensive functions, but retained the appearance and command structure of such an organisation. According to its terms of reference, the force would "provide a disaster response capability, including a) major fires and industrial accidents or spills, b) conduct search and rescue, c) provide humanitarian assistance in isolated areas, d) assist in de-mining, and e) contribute to rebuilding infrastructure and communities". "It was explicitly stated that the force would "not have any role in law enforcement or the maintenance of law and order". "It would number 5,000 officers, 60 percent of whom would be full-time employees. Places were reserved for minority recruits (predominantly ethnic Serbs or Roma in the post-war composition of Kosovo), most of which remain open four years on and are unlikely to be filled. Tight restrictions were placed on the amount of weapons the organisation's members can hold and who can hold them.

Although the September 1999 agreement limited the Corps to disaster response, the KPC has seemed to take on other functions. Certainly it does not seem to be exclusively involved in many civil defence functions. In part this is the result of poor planning. Funding for the organisation is relatively low and many of the tasks it is assigned duplicate those already carried out by KFOR. Its lack of a clearly defined role in turn reflects the nature of the September

agreement as an expedient measure meant to disband the KLA. UNMIK and KFOR did not want to formalise the KLA in the form of a standing army but, realising that it was unrealistic to expect the organisation to dissolve, had to turn it into something. Hence its present incarnation as what was described by one officer as "the best armed fire brigade one is likely to see". The KPC looks more like a military organisation than a civilian one. Its officers wear military fatigues, visitors passing its facilities are met with armed guards and a system of military rank is in place.

As the inheritors of an organisation that had extensive policing responsibility during the war and its immediate aftermath, KPC members have enjoyed extensive public legitimacy. However, the Corps has earned a somewhat negative reputation, and now, ironically, arguably contributes to the workloads of the UNMIK police and KPS. Some of its members have taken the law into their own hands and have been prosecuted and jailed for a range of offences, including kidnapping, assault and even murder. A report recently submitted to the US House of Representatives stated "professionalism within the KPC is lacking; criminals and extremists remain within its ranks; and firm civilian control, eventually by Kosovo's elected authorities, is needed"...

UNMIK officers have observed the development of informal linkages between the two, organisationally distinct, institutions of the KPC and KPS. There appeared to be a large migration of membership from the KPC to the KPS in the early years. This was significant given that the KPC is identified with military and nationalist forces in Kosovo, and that the KPS is meant to be a politically neutral organisation. "Officers observed unwillingness on the part of some KPS officers to become involved in any incident that would entail a physical challenge or law-enforcement action against members of the Kosovo Protection Corps. The existence of the KPC remains something of an obstacle to the acceptance and assertion of the KPS as the sole legitimate policing authority in the entity.

Conclusion

THE FORMER BALKAN CONFLICT ZONE examined in this report have tentatively embarked on a path to the resolution of longstanding political disputes. As part of each process there has been a commitment either to create or extensively refurbish an existing police force. This is because experience has shown that without robust policing structures, fragile new peace agreements find it difficult to survive and take root. However, despite being the recipient of considerable international support and goodwill, such efforts face daunting political, financial,

logistical and historical obstacles. Achieving lasting and effective police reform, therefore, requires cutting through a Gordian knot of management, leadership, political will, set attitudes, established behaviours, negative public perceptions and, at times, misunderstood international motives. Police reform is a task every bit as fraught with difficulty and uncertainty as solving the underlying disputes themselves. Its complexity makes it a daunting proposition for would-be reformers. Nevertheless, the very centrality of the issue means that it cannot be shied away from.

All or part of the new police apparatuses were made responsible for territories where there had never before been a effective local force based on democratic policing principles. They had no luxury of a settling-in period and had to establish their authority immediately, often without the requisite tools to do a credible job. Often the long absence of effective law enforcement and justice systems had encouraged the development of alternative systems of conflict management and dispute resolution. To the extent that the new police are seen as threatening those mechanisms without offering a viable alternative, the task of embedding the democratic principles of the police is made all the more difficult. Finally, in all three cases there has been the danger that if the new police forces are not sufficiently well-funded and equipped to make an immediate show of their authority, already fragile public confidence will shatter, endangering the entire process. Given the myriad obstacles, the efforts and achievements of the police reformers over a relatively short period in these three cases should be commended and applauded.

That said, examination of the cases indicates a lot can be learned from and improved on, both in terms of specific alterations to programming as well as broader lessons for future international police reform missions. The following points or concluding observations have been made on the basis of the research and analysis conducted for this report and are accompanied by recommendations for consideration by decision-makers and practitioners of police reform.

Program Design

1. Classroom and field training

Getting the new local police out on the beat performing actual policing tasks has been one of most visible signs of progress in initiatives in Kosovo. Kosovo's expedited training programme was emulated in neighbouring reform missions; its basic curriculum is to be commended where a quick start for policing is needed. Overall, the problems have not been with classroom instruction but the flawed field training programmes that follow it. The new officer's

knowledge and experience gaps are not being sufficiently filled by shadowing, observing and learning from more experienced national or international officers. The overall consequence is a less effective force. Uneven interest, variable dedication, mixed abilities, and the occasional patronising attitude among field trainers to their charges has meant a wide unpredictability in learning. Clearly, there is no guarantee that serving officers have the ability to train fresh recruits up to the requisite levels of expertise. This is extremely worrying, especially as so much learning and future planning hinges upon dissemination through field trainers.

Recommendation: The learning methodology behind field training must be thoroughly evaluated and re-designed if necessary. A lot of stock is being placed in 'train the local trainers' courses – the evaluation should test whether the correct information and approaches are diffusing down to officers on the beat and new cadets. More attention should be given to consistency in the field training element of programmes in order to ensure equality of experience and learning for all cadets.

2. Training of trainers

In Kosovo, where a police force was established from scratch, all members started from the same learning point at roughly the same time and so, broadly, have been steeped in equal measure in courses and training. In the area older serving members are given just a few hours of classroom-based training in human rights and democratic policing principles, or are even expected to be instructed by fellow officers who have attended such a course. So far this does not seem sufficient to modify long held and powerful attitudes which may not be appropriate for the more modern 'democratic policing' approach reformers are aiming to achieve. It is questionable whether such short bursts of remedial training actually promote a change in attitudes and practice.

Recommendation: Questions must be asked, and tests undertaken to measure the efficacy of short bursts of training for qualified officers and of the training of trainers courses currently used. The allocation of more time for training is likely to be a step that will bring immediate benefits.

3. Integration

New recruits find it difficult to integrate fully within existing police structures dominated by a majority ethnic group and gender. Currently, reformers run the risk of establishing a force with differing levels of legitimacy and trust vested in officers wearing the same uniform.

Recommendation: More attention needs to be paid to strategies to assist processes of assimilation and incorporation. Field training should be utilised as a method of integrating discrete groups as well as a training tool.

4 .Effective maintenance of law and order

It is right that each police reform effort is framed within the principles of democratic and community policing and introduction of this more humanistic form of policing has helped break down barriers between the community and the police. However, this new ethos should not be associated with a softening of attitudes to crime and law enforcement. Each area faces serious and deep-rooted crime problems that will only swell and spread if they are not addressed head on. Any failure to do so may create public perceptions of an ineffective and impotent police service, which in turn will present serious obstacles to engaging the public support necessary to police effectively and control crime.

Recommendation: More attention needs to be paid to encouraging and supporting, both publicly and with advice, more robust law enforcement when it is needed. This will offset any perception that more inclusive policing means more ineffective policing, when in fact the contrary should be the case.

5. Career development as a reform tool

There remains in Kosovo a degree of opacity about whether commitment to reform extends beyond mere rhetoric and throughout the whole police structure. There is also a similar lack of clarity in procedures for career advancement and selection of new recruits in specific police reform program.

Recommendation: It is important to bring as much clarity as possible to the system. A connection between institutional reform and career development should be entrenched. One possible solution would be to encourage development of a properly structured promotion and appointments policy linked to specialist and career education courses. This would both reward and encourage those officers who wish to progress, and who are therefore motivated, to apply for further training.

6. Political context

All reform processes are affected by the political uncertainty resulting from the still unresolved status of Kosovo. The continuing uncertainty as to Kosovo's status continues to

intrude upon policing, as well as stability, across the entire region. Unless and until that question is resolved, it will be difficult for normal policing to begin effectively.

The international dimension

7. Equipment and assistance

A legacy of past behaviour is often the only thing inherited by a successor force. In many cases, the physical infrastructure, equipment, and personnel of the previous force are either compromised beyond repair, unusable or simply not available to be of use to the new force. It is thus crucial that the practical assistance required is delivered quickly. Delivery of assistance months and years after the initiation of the process may mean that whatever chance there is of nurturing infant police forces may be lost.

Recommendation: Although there has been large and public international support for police reform and establishment, that support – financial, practical and human – needs to be quick off the mark and then continual and sustained. It needs to be accepted that police reform is a long-term investment and it will take many years before clear dividends emerge. This understanding needs to be built into both funding and programming.

8. Planning a post-conflict response

In post-conflict environments, it is a given that police reform will be a component of wider peace-building efforts. Yet the nuts and bolts of planning tends to take place only amidst the scramble following the end of a conflict where there is no time for any period of reflection and consideration.

Recommendation: More thought needs to be allocated to pre-planning and the formulation of a clear blueprint that harnesses existing learning and experience to choreograph in detail the practical steps needed to implement police reform quickly once a conflict subsides. The development of these blueprints will help offset the rather *ad hoc* on-the-ground planning that appears to be the norm now.

9. Deployment of international officers

The Kosovo policing experience should inform future instances where the UN will take on policing responsibility. In Kosovo, international police deployment came too late, lagging behind the establishment of the international administration, which, ironically, was when it was needed most. The arriving international police officers were also an extremely mixed bag in terms of ability. Problems were compounded by complicated lines of authority and an almost

continual rotation of senior staff, whose deployment period ended as soon as they had begun to familiarise themselves with their task.

Recommendation a: Having a permanent roster of officers willing to serve in an international force and able to deploy at short notice would avoid having to go through cumbersome recruitment from national police posts. A multi-national roster of officers – whose skills have been assessed or proven – would enable more immediate policing than is currently possible."

Recommendation b: One way of avoiding *ad hoc* decision-making would be to utilise expertise that already exists. Officers who have served in police reform missions constitute an important reservoir of opinions and views. These individuals should be more comprehensively canvassed for lessons learned to feed into the policy development process.

Recommendation c: Lines of authority need to be streamlined and attention given to setting in place a personnel management system that maintains an experienced and knowledgeable core even allowing for (inevitable) staff turnover.

10. Pre-deployment training

Those charged with providing international assistance to police development are often not culturally and linguistically attuned to the nuances of the situation. The situation is even more difficult when dealing with a closed society of familial networks, such as the ethnic Albanian communities in the former Yugoslavia, or parallel community policing or security structures, a common product of conflict environments. The implications of this unfamiliarity result in a restricted ability to impart skills and knowledge fully.

Recommendation: It is not expected that all international officers will be skilled polyglots with a forensic understanding of political and historical particularities. Currently, however international officers' unfamiliarity is accentuated by rushed and inadequate pre-deployment briefings, suggesting little importance is attached to a good understanding of the policing environment. Greater weight should be given to this, especially to basic training in the local language(s), which should continue during the deployment of international personnel in theatre.

11. Additional areas of expertise

Currently, it remains the norm that international police missions are almost exclusively staffed by either currently serving or recently retired police officers. However, the complexity of the area of police reform - one which includes issues of management, institutional

restructuring, education and engagement with civil society -is perhaps too multi-faceted to be left solely to police officers and international experts on policing.

Recommendation: It may be worth considering widening the eligibility bracket for those recruited into police reform and assistance missions to include international personnel with a wider range of skills and experience relevant to the overall challenges police reform faces.

12. Accompanying criminal justice reform

Police reform will not be successful if it is carried out in isolation: its accomplishment is intimately bound up with other issues, namely judicial and penal reform.

Recommendation: International organisations and governments need to integrate their planning and ensure criminal justice reform programmes run concurrently with police reform and that both processes can mutually strengthen and reinforce each other, rather than each suffering from the lack of the other as often happens at present.

In addition to the observations and recommendations above, a pertinent note to conclude on is the overall comment that one should not expect too much too soon from new police forces. These are for the most part inexperienced forces, operating within politically uncertain contexts, where there is no recent experience of a legitimate local force. Police forces tend to be among the most visible symbols of the transition from conflict to peace, and are therefore almost always burdened with high expectations. It is hardly surprising that under-paid, under-equipped, under-trained and understaffed forces almost always find such hopes difficult to fulfil. That these police forces may not live up to expectations is perhaps less a function of their own failings than a reflection of the multiplicity of demands placed upon them. Police reform is a difficult process, and success is far from guaranteed. Effectiveness of reform should be judged over the time frame of a decade or more. Two or three years is too short a period to judge such complex institutions. It is worth bearing in mind that Western police forces- those the forces undergoing reform are meant to emulate - are hardly perfect themselves. It's much too high an expectation to think that these new forces will consistently meet high standards of competence and practice as they struggle to police incomplete peace processes.

Although it is still too early to be definitive about the long-term success of the police reform projects in Kosovo, an encouraging beginning has been made. However, diversion of international attention, funds and political support could mean that all that has been painstakingly created could be very easily lost. One of the most pertinent lessons to be learnt from these experiences, namely the need for consistent support, remains as relevant for the three Balkan case studies today as for all future police reform initiatives.